

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6712  
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AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MOSCOW 21889

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR, UR, GR  
SUBJECT: GREEK EMBASSY BRIEFING ON RALLIS VISIT AND  
SOVIET-GREEK COMMUNIQUE

SUMMARY: GREEK DCM DISCUSSES RECENT VISIT TO SOVIET  
UNION OF GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER RALLIS. AMONG HIS  
POINTS ARE FOLLOWING:

-- SOVIETS MADE EXTRA EFFORT TO INSURE SUCCESS OF  
VISIT. THIS INCLUDED GENERAL AVOIDANCE OF DIS-  
CUSSING ISSUES OF KNOWN DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TWO  
COUNTRIES AND OF POLICIES OF THIRD COUNTRIES.

-- SOVIETS WERE TOUGH NEGOTIATORS ON COMMUNIQUE,  
HOWEVER, AND IN END CERTAIN POINTS WERE SIMPLY  
DROPPED DUE TO INABILITY OF TWO SIDES TO AGREE.

-- COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE ON CYPRUS WAS BLAND, BUT  
SOVIETS MADE FIRST OFFICIAL REFERENCE TO NEED TO  
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CARRY OUT UN DECISIONS ON CYPRUS. TWO SIDES COULD  
NOT AGREE ON LANGUAGE ON TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM CYPRUS.

-- AEGEAN WATERS ISSUE WAS DISCUSSED AT LENGTH  
(DESPITE ABSENCE FROM COMMUNIQUE), BUT GREEKS HAD  
NOT EXPECTED AND DID NOT ACHIEVE MOVEMENT ON THIS  
MATTER AND WERE SATISFIED WITH WHAT THEY FELT WAS

A THOROUGH AIRING OF ISSUE.

-- GENERAL AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON A NUMBER OF COOPERATIVE ECONOMIC PROJECTS, BUT DETAILS REMAIN TO BE SETTLED IN WORKING LEVEL NEGOTIATIONS.  
END SUMMARY.

1. ON SEPTEMBER 12 EMBOFFS RECEIVED BRIEFING ON VISIT OF GREEK FON. MIN. FROM GREEK DCM BOTZARIS. SEPTEMBER 12 PRAVDA CARRIED TEXT OF JOINT SOVIET-GREEK COMMUNIQUE AND CONVERSATION CENTERED ON NEGOTIATION OF THAT DOCUMENT AND ON SIGNIFICANCE OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF IT. SINCE COMMUNIQUE IS FAIRLY COMPREHENSIVE AND AVAILABLE TO ADDRESSEES, IT WILL NOT BE SUMMARIZED SEPARATELY.

2. BOTZARIS SAID THAT GREEK GOAL FOR VISIT WAS TO ESTABLISH A MARKER WHICH WOULD OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZE THE DISTANCE WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN TRAVELED IN NORMALIZING RELATIONS AND WHICH WOULD ALSO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR FURTHER PROGRESS. THIS GOAL, HE FELT, HAD BEEN MET AND THE GREEK SIDE WAS SATISFIED THAT THE VISIT COULD BE CONSIDERED A SUCCESS. THE SOVIETS HAD CONTRIBUTED TO THIS SUCCESS BY SUCH STEPS AS:

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-- MAKING CERTAIN FRIENDLY GESTURES INCLUDING GROMYKO'S PRESENCE AT ARRIVAL CEREMONIES AT MOSCOW'S VNUKOVO AIRPORT (MANY DIGNITARIES ARRIVE AT THE MORE DISTANT, MORE PUBLIC SHEREMETEV AIRPORT);

-- AVOIDING ARGUMENTS OVER CERTAIN ISSUES, E.G., BALKAN COOPERATION AND GREEK-NATO RELATIONS, ON WHICH THE TWO SIDES WERE KNOWN TO DISAGREE;

-- AVOIDING ANY DISCUSSION OF THE POLICIES OF THIRD COUNTRIES (E.G., ALBANIA, TURKEY, AND PRC).

3. BOTZARIS NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SIGNING OF THE BILATERAL CONSULAR CONVENTION. GREEKS, HE SAID, EXPECTED TO HAVE REPRESENTATIVES IN ODESSA BY THE END OF THE YEAR ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO SAY WHEN THE POSTS IN SALONIKA AND ODESSA WOULD BE OFFICIALLY OPENED. COMMENT: BOTZARIS TOLD UK EMBASSY THAT CURRENT FIGURES FOR EMIGRATION/REPATRIATION FROM SOVIET UNION TO GREECE WERE RUNNING 800 PER YEAR FROM PRE-CIVIL WAR POPULATION AND 1,500 PER YEAR FROM CIVIL WAR EXILES. THESE FIGURES,

ESPECIALLY LATTER, SEEM HIGH TO US. END COMMENT.  
HE NOTED IN PASSING THE SIGNING OF THE CULTURAL  
AND SCIENTIFIC AGREEMENT AND SAID THAT OTHER AGREE-  
MENTS WERE BEING EXAMINED.

4. SEPARATE WORKING LEVEL TALKS WILL BE HELD TO  
ARRANGE THE DETAILS OF THE GENERAL AGREEMENT WHICH  
WAS REACHED ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION. AMONG THE  
SOVIET ASSISTED PROJECTS BEING CONSIDERED ARE THE  
CONSTRUCTION OF AN ALUMINA PLANT, THE CONSTRUCTION  
OF ELECTRICAL ENERGY STATIONS AND A POSSIBLE GREEK  
LINK WITH EXISTING EASTERN EUROPEAN OIL AND GAS

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PIPELINES. BOTZARIS SAID THAT, DESPITE COMMUNIQUE  
EMPHASIS ON THE COMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THE NPT AND  
THE PEACEFUL USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY, THERE WAS NO  
SPECIFIC TALK OF GREEK-SOVIET COOPERATION IN THE  
NUCLEAR ENERGY FIELD, ALTHOUGH FUTURE COOPERATION IN  
THE FIELD SEEMED ENTIRELY POSSIBLE.

5. AMONG THE SPECIFIC ISSUES OF INTEREST DISCUSSED  
BY BOTZARIS WERE THE FOLLOWING:

-- BALKAN COOPERATION. GREEKS HAD EXPECTED SOVIET  
REACTION TO EXPOSITION OF GREEK VIEW THAT BALKAN  
COOPERATION WAS BASICALLY AN ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL  
MATTER, AND HENCE HAD CAREFULLY PREPARED THEIR

COMMENTS ON THIS ISSUE. THEY WERE SURPRISED, HOWEVER, WHEN SOVIETS MADE NO RESPONSE AT ALL TO THE GREEK PRESENTATION.

-- CYPRUS. GREEKS SAID THAT TWO SIDES WERE UNABLE TO AGREE ON COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE ON TROOP WITH-  
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DRAWAL. GREEKS WANTED TO SAY "FROM REPUBLIC" AND SOVIETS INSISTED ON "FROM ISLAND" (I.E., INCLUDING BRITISH TROOPS FROM SBA'S). BOTZARIS SAW NO SIGNIFICANCE IN LACK OF COMMUNIQUE REFERENCE TO SOVIET INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IDEA. SOVIETS, HE SAID, DO NOT USUALLY REFER TO THIS IDEA IN COMMUNIQUE. HE AGREED, HOWEVER, WITH EMBOFF'S OBSERVATION THAT RUMORED VISIT BY CYPRUS PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU MIGHT VERY WELL PRODUCE SUCH A COMMUNIQUE REFERENCE. GREEK GOVERNMENT, SAID BOTZARIS, SUPPORTED IDEA OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, BUT DID NOT BELIEVE IT WAS LIKELY TO BE ACHIEVED AND THEREFORE DID NOT EMPHASIZE IT IN DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIETS. BOTZARIS DID FIND SIGNIFICANT THE COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE ON CARRYING OUT UN DECISIONS ON CYPRUS. SOVIETS, HE SAID, HAD NOT AGREED TO SUCH LANGUAGE BEFORE IN OFFICIAL DOCUMENT.

-- AEGEAN SEA ISSUE. DESPITE LACK OF COMMUNIQUE REFERENCE, SAID BOTZARIS, THIS ISSUE WAS DISCUSSED AT SOME LENGTH. GREEK SIDE HAD NOT EXPECTED ANY CHANGE IN SOVIET POSITION OPPOSING AN EXTENSION OF TERRITORIAL LIMITS IN AEGEAN AND GREEK GOAL WAS TO REASSURE SOVIETS THAT PRIMARY GREEK CONCERN WAS OVER PRE-EMPTIVE TURKISH MOVE WHICH WOULD IMPINGE ON PRACTICAL GREEK SOVEREIGNTY OVER OFF-SHORE ISLANDS. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON IMPORTANCE OF FREE NAVIGATION THROUGH THESE WATERS AND THERE WAS UNSPOKEN AGREEMENT OVER CONTINUATION OF TWO EXISTING SOVIET MED. ANCHORAGES WHICH WOULD BE AFFECTED BY GREEK DECLARATION OF 12 MILE LIMIT.

-- MEDITERRANEAN. BOTZARIS SAID THERE WAS NO SPECIFIC  
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MEANING TO COMMUNIQUE'S REFERENCE TO "READINESS TO UNDERTAKE CONSTRUCTIVE MEASURES" WITH REGARD TO PEACE AND SECURITY IN MEDITERRANEAN. HE HAD NOTED

SEPTEMBER 7 PRAVDA ARTICLE CITING BREZHNEV ON A SOVIET MED. PROPOSAL (BANNING U.S. AND SOVIET NUCLEAR ARMED SHIPS) AND ADMITTED THAT SOVIETS PROBABLY HAD THIS IN MIND; BUT HE DENIED THAT THERE HAD BEEN ANY SPECIFIC DISCUSSION OF THIS DURING THE TALKS. HE EMPHASIZED SENSITIVITY OF THIS ISSUE FOR THE GREEKS POINTING OUT INTERNAL GREEK DIVISION OVER THE ISSUE AS WELL AS GREEK FEAR OF PROVOKING LIBYANS WHO MIGHT RETALIATE AGAINST GREEK POPULATION AND BUSINESSES IN LIBYA OR WHO MIGHT OFFER FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO TURKEY.

-- POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS. BOTZARIS SEEMED SOMEWHAT DEFENSIVE IN DESCRIBING THE PREVIOUS AND THE PLANNED LEVEL OF PERIODIC SOVIET-GREEK POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS REFERRED TO IN COMMUNIQUE. HE SAID THAT SUCH CONSULTATIONS WERE PROBABLY WHAT GROMYKO WAS REFERRING TO IN HIS SEPTEMBER 5 LUNCHEON REMARKS ON BRINGING POLITICAL RELATIONS TO LEVEL WITH RELATIONS IN ECONOMIC AND OTHER SPHERES.

-- M.E. AND AFRICA. BOTZARIS POINTED OUT APPLICATION OF COMMUNIQUE PRINCIPLES TO CYPRUS QUESTION (E.G., TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, TROOP WITHDRAWAL) AND NOTED CURIOUS WRINKLE IN NEGOTIATION OVER AFRICA LANGUAGE. BOTH SIDES WERE WILLING TO MAKE REFERENCE TO NAMIBIA, RHODESIA AND APARTHEID. GREEKS INSISTED, HOWEVER, THAT NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA LANGUAGE INCLUDE REFERENCE TO PROTECTION OF MINORITY. SOVIETS REFUSED. WHEN GREEKS THEN SUGGESTED ONLY A MENTION OF APARTHEID,

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SOVIETS DECLINED.

5. IN GENERAL, CONCLUDED BOTZARIS, GREEKS WERE STRUCK BY OBVIOUS SOVIET DESIRE TO MAKE THIS HISTORIC VISIT A SUCCESS, NOT ONLY BY SUCH SIGNS AS THE PROTOCOL TREATMENT THEY EXTENDED AND THE AVOIDANCE OF CONTENTIOUS ISSUES, BUT ALSO BY THE AVOIDANCE OF DISCUSSION OF THE POLICIES OF THIRD COUNTRIES WHICH AFFECT EVENTS IN THE REGION. THUS, THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION OF THE RECENT BALKAN TRAVELS BY CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER HUA, OF THE ECEVIT VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION, OR OF ALBANIAN FOREIGN POLICY. WHILE BOTZARIS EXPECTED THE SOVIETS TO GO INTO SUCH DETAIL IN FUTURE "POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS", HE INTERPRETED THEIR FAILURE TO DO SO DURING RALLIS' VISIT AS A TOKEN OF SOVIET DESIRE THAT THIS PRECEDENT-SETTING VISIT BE AS SMOOTH AND AS PLEASANT AS POSSIBLE.

6. AT SEPTEMBER 12 RECEPTION, TURKISH EMBASSY CHARGE TOLD EMBOFFS THAT HE SAW RALLIS VISIT (AND CONFIDENTIAL

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PROJECTED GROMYKO VISIT) AS PUTTING GREEKS ON SAME FOOTING WITH SOVIETS AS OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. HE FELT THAT VISIT WOULD ALSO SERVE TO BALANCE IN THE WEST THE IMPRESSION OF AN ENHANCED SOVIET-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAD FOLLOWED THE ECEVIT VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION. WHILE HE ADMITTED THAT TURKISH EMBASSY HAD HAD NO CONTACTS WITH GREEK EMBASSY CONCERNING THE VISIT (AND WAS UNLIKELY TO RECEIVE FRANK BRIEFING), HE FAVORABLY NOTED ABSENCE OF ANY ANTI-TURKISH FORMULATIONS IN COMMUNIQUE. ON BALANCE, HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE VISIT SEEMED POSITIVE.

7. COMMENT: BOTZARIS TOLD US THAT HE SEES NO BASIS FOR GREEK PRESS EUPHORIA ABOUT AN ALLEGED SOVIET TILT TOWARD GREEK POSITION ON CYPRUS. JUDGING FROM HIS COMMENTS AND THE PUBLISHED COMMUNIQUE, WE AGREE. AS WAS CASE DURING ECEVIT VISIT TO SOVIET UNION, SOVIETS MAY OCCASIONALLY SAY THINGS WHICH CAN BE INTERPRETED BY OBSERVERS AS FAVORING ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER IN THE DISPUTE BUT WHICH CAN STILL BE DEFENDED WHEN CRITICIZED BY THE OFFENDED SIDE. SUCH STATEMENTS DO NOT DESTROY THE ROUGH BALANCE IN THE SOVIET POSITION WHICH HAS BEEN CAREFULLY MAINTAINED FOR YEARS. GARRISON

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## Message Attributes

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